

ATTACK ON EISENHOWER

Fulbright Spurs Senate To Wee Hours Debate

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Senator Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, early this morning accomplished the impossible.

He shook a Senate almost benumbed by 108 hours of filibuster from the contemplation of its own miseries and forced it to look at the outside world. He made his colleagues consider the challenge of communism and their own responsibilities in a divided government. And he stirred a storm with sharp criticism of President Eisenhower's handling of the dispute over defenses.

If Mr. Eisenhower's defense decisions are faulty, the free world could be lost in an afternoon, the Senator declared. And he accused Mr. Eisenhower of driving men of ideas out of Washington and treating with contempt critics of his defense policies.

Starts Debate

So successful was he in stirring things up that at 2:30 a.m. 150 spectators were treated to the sight of four Senators on their feet clamoring for the floor—not a usual filibuster performance.

And when Democratic Leader Johnson said about then that "it is later than we think," everyone present knew he was referring to the state of the world, rather than the time on the clock.

Senator Fulbright is a former university president, with a philosopher's interest in the big questions. He is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a post requiring world-wide perspective. But he is also a man who must seek re-election in Arkansas in two years.

So he managed to contribute three hours of talk to the Southern civil rights filibuster—and at the same time discuss broad issues. His text was studded with striking phrases: "Men have anciently yearned for a universal commonwealth. Now we have it. But it is a commonwealth of fear kept going by a precarious balance of terror, a chilling oscillation between negotiation and incineration."

"We endure in an era of total crisis. . . . All the world's parts, for the first time, are simultaneously out of joint. And while horrors stalk the earth, weapons of potential universal

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destruction are hurled to the stars. . . . Everywhere the implacable cage stalks the unwary bird."

Criticizes Eisenhower

The Senator said he found it disturbing for the President to tell a news conference he knows more about military affairs than "almost anyone."

"This is dangerous because the President's attitude forecloses discussion while precluding reason," he said. It also keeps military men, fearful of their careers, from speaking up; encourages the dominance of yes-men, and tends to drive superior men from the service," he added.

Under Mr. Eisenhower, he said, the United States has become a 20th century Babylon, headless and heartless, a big, fat target for the ably-led Communist world and the clamorous, poverty-ridden states.

Few men of ideas come to Washington," Senator Fulbright said. "They are not likely to seek service under a chief executive who is scornful of their kind."

Yet mankind moves on ideas. Men with ideas are the makers and shakers of the world. The larger their number serving the country the more fruitful and vigorous the country."

In the field of defense, Fulbright said, Eisenhower has "dubbed those who disagree with his judgments 'noisy extremists'; men unpatriotic because they have the tendency to disparage our country, while they are also dishonest because their assertions are 'spurious,' that is, fake."

Republicans Reply

He cited the testimony of Republican business leaders and retired military officers on the "inadequacy" of America's defenses. Senator Aiken, Republican of Vermont, asked how many of these critics were "en-

gaged in the manufacture of munitions."

Senator Fulbright said that if America has reached the point where anyone who criticizes Government policy is suspect of motive, "there is no hope for us."

Senate Republican Leader Dirksen dismissed the Fulbright blast as "the lay opinion of a man from Arkansas."

Senator Scott, Republican of Pennsylvania, said Democrats were quick to criticize the defense effort, but "passed no legislation" to improve it.

Enraged, Majority Leader Johnson shouted back that defense funds voted by Congress have been "impounded, sunk and hidden" by the Budget Bureau. Aides, awakened by a phone call from the thoroughly angry Senator Johnson, rushed to the floor with supporting documents.

Debate Widens

More Senators came out to see what was happening. The debate ranged widely, losing its focus, lighting now on farm policy, then on foreign aid, then back to the farm, then to public works and stream pollution, then to tax loopholes.

Senator Johnson paced the chamber, urging first this Democrat, then that, into the battle. Oblivious for the moment of their differences on civil rights, Democrats from North and South joined in a recital of the "iniquities" of the Eisenhower administration.

At one point, Senator Fulbright found himself recalling his 1946 suggestion that President Truman resign and let the Republicans, who had just won control of Congress, take over the presidency as well.

He even repeated the epithet the former President had applied to him at that time. "This wasn't quite the theme of my speech," he said in a tone of self-reproach.

He returned to his text, finished it, called for a quorum and turned the floor over to Senator Eastland of Mississippi. The filibuster was back to normal.